2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

This stimulation started the child's breathing and the washing cleansed it. The face of the infant was then massaged to "smooth out ugly lines" and improve the features. The legs were rubbed to straighten them so that the child would not be bow-legged. The arms were similarly rubbed. Then the infant was wrapped in buckskin or coyote fur and the head was bound with buckskin to insure roundness and eliminate the distortion accompanying birth. Flattening was never practiced. This completed the immediate attention given the child. It was then laid on its back on a pile of bedding; occasionally it was turned from one side to the other.

The mother was given a decoction of herbs immediately after delivery to prevent excess bleeding. As soon as the after-birth (untuɬsi'ltən) was eliminated it was completely disposed of by burying. It was never burned. The mother went to bed where she remained for several hours. During this time absorbents (grass, shredded bark) were used to care for the bleeding. These were later burned. After a maximum of one day's complete rest the mother took charge of the child, but continued to lie down when not engaged in that care.

A woman occasionally went off alone into the woods and bore her child without assistance. Although such action probably often was traceable to timidity alone, ulterior motives were sometimes involved. If the woman did not want the child she was about to bear, this seclusion gave her an opportunity to return to camp with the baby dead and declare that it had been born dead. If this were not true and the facts were discovered the woman was subjected to severe lashing upon order of the chief. Nevertheless, Burke declared, such methods of controlling family size were occasionally resorted to.

A shaman was called at the time of childbirth only when delivery could not be accomplished normally. In such a case any shaman could function, for the procedure was not specialized, but certain shamans had specific talents of this nature.[3] No objective measures were taken; the shaman did not touch the patient. He attempted to discover the cause of the difficulty as in any case of illness and treat it accordingly.[4]

In the event of a miscarriage the fetus was buried immediately.

Certain post-natal observances were incumbent upon the father if the welfare of the child were to be protected. These had to be discharged very shortly after the infant's arrival. The usual procedure involved catching a dog or horse and beating it severely, or riding the horse until it was exhausted and frothed at the mouth. If neither animal were available the father himself ran until he could go no farther. If thus custom were not observed the child would cry a great deal, be irritable and have convulsions. Except at this time, however, the parent dared not kill any animal by beating it until the child was several weeks old, or the child would be ill-affected rather than benefited. If either parent threw deer sinew or feathers into a fire the baby would have cramps and convulsions, "writhing like the burning feathers or sinew."

[3] See page 102.
[4] See page 204 f.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

159 Burke was once fishing with Johnny Herman (sxoxomi'x). Herman dipped
753 up a muskrat with his net. He killed it with the blow of a club. The next day
846 the head and face of his newly born infant swelled up so much that it was unable to open its eyes. Herman painted the child's face with red paint applied with a skunk tail brush. The eyebrows, cheeks and upper and lower lips were covered with paint. The child very soon returned to normal.

The above anecdote illustrates one of the methods used to counteract the effects resulting from non-observance of post-natal customs or breaking of tabus connected with the child. Another remedy was to build a smudge and hold the baby over it, allowing it to inhale some of the smoke.

784 For a week after the child's arrival the mother spent most of the time resting
846 and avoided hard work for at least a month. During the first week she was not allowed to do any cooking for the food would be contaminated because she was still losing blood. She was not permitted to pass in front of any man at close range but she could walk directly behind. She must not stay so near a fire that she would perspire (a precaution against hemorrhage). For ten days she ate no meat. Twice each day for a month the mother drank a tonic (enukutkutunawi'ux-ten). This was to assist her in regaining her strength and to insure against contraction of tuberculosis which was supposed often to start with childbirth. For a month she did not bathe and slept apart from her husband. At the end of that of that period she bathed thoroughly and took up once more the normal routine of life, modified of course by the presence of the new child. An informal feast followed the birth of the first child.[4]

From the time of birth to ten days of age the child was kept wrapped tightly with the arms at the sides and the legs extended. The head binding continued for a like period. During the daytime the child lay on its mother's bedding; at night it slept beside her. Whenever the child cried it was nursed. If it cried excessively red pigment mixed with grease was applied to its face with the tail of a skunk, as above. Or the dried heart of a fool hen was sewed inside a buckskin bag and fastened to the child's wrappings at the shoulder or near the back of the head. The fool hen was considered a model of silence. The skunk's tail used for painting was likewise fastened to the wrappings and later to the cradle.

853 If the mother's milk failed to flow she was given hot soups or broths made from meat or fowl, and pine needles were heated and placed on her breasts. If the appearance of the milk was retarded for any length of time some other woman acted temporarily as wet nurse. The child was returned to its mother as soon as she was able to nourish it properly. When a baby's mother died at the time of its birth it was taken by some woman, not necessarily a relative, who could nurse it. The adoption was for the nursing period only. At the end of that time it was returned to the grandparents. Children were nursed for an average of perhaps two years. The child was not always removed from the cradle for nursing.

848 Permanent relinquishment shortly after birth of a child born out of wedlock was the usual solution for such a situation. Any married woman in the group was

[4]See page 141.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible." (Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a large family among their relatives.

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen. Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass.

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medicines were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but weaker.[1] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some of her milk into the ailing part.

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune to the child.

No unusual treatment was accorded twins.

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied from ten days to a month.

[1] See pages 213 f.

ful. No explanations were current for abnormal presentations. 845

When the baby was born, the father was notified. He shot arrows, beat a dog, forced a horse to run hard, and performed other such acts in order to assure the safety of the child. This was also accomplished by stroking it down the middle of the forehead and along the nose with a skunk hair. For ten days he refrained from hunting for the reasons given above. If the child did not cry at once, cold water was thrown upon it. If it were stillborn, it was considered to have been choked to death, and was buried at once with no ceremony. 846

Abnormalities in the birth are explained by happenings previous to it. A caul is due to the mother's having eaten eggs. If the cord is wrapped about the throat of the child, it is because a horse was choked with the tie rope. Cecile says that most difficulties now are due to the difficulty in the expulsion of the after-birth, but that this did not happen in the old days. She blames it on the modern practice of lying down for the birth. If the birth was premature, a pit was dug to receive the child and keep it warm. Otherwise this was not done. 845

The after-birth is buried by the attendant, or the mother herself if she is alone, lest an animal eat it, for in that case she would have no more children. 844

After a precautionary wait of a few minutes the umbilical cord was cut to about four inches. If cut at once, the baby would "bleed inside" and die. The stump was tied with Indian hemp and covered with a piece of thin greased buckskin, which was held in place by a buckskin band around the baby's body. This was removed daily to allow for the sloughing off of the cord. When the stump finally dropped off, it was tied into a little buckskin sack which was fastened to the cradle.

The baby was then washed in warm water, but was not greased. Then, and every time subsequently that it was unwrapped and bathed, it was given a beauty massage: its nose and penis pulled or blown on to make them long, its limbs rubbed, its face massaged, its eyes pressed open, and the roof of the mouth pressed up. No reason was assigned for this. Suszen stated that a new-born child was immediately dipped in water "because God created the land from water." 846 854

It was suckled with the very first milk, none being thrown away. (Cecile stated, however, that the mother first waited over night.) Should the mother be unable to nurse her child, it was given to a wet nurse, who would have to be paid for her services, even if she were a close relative. The child was returned to its mother when it was wean- 853

ed, and as this was never forced, it might mean a lapse of two or three years. If the mother died at childbirth, the baby was allowed to live, and was either given to someone to nurse, or was kept alive on berry juice, soups, and so forth. If a woman had a second child before the other was weaned, both were nursed, as were twins. No precedence was given the elder twin (the first born). This may be what Teit means by his curious statement that twins were less strictly attended to than among the Thompson.[20]

853 [845]

For a period of ten to eighteen days after the birth the mother remained in seclusion in the menstrual lodge. She might wash, but not take a sweat bath, for this would make the baby sweat also. The food tabus continued. She was fed by others, and did not cook for herself (Cecile said she might) nor for her household. She might talk to her husband only at a distance, and he could touch neither her nor the child, though he was shown the latter. His power would be harmed if he came in contact with them. He, too, was not allowed to sweat bathe, nor might he hunt or do anything strenuous that might overtax him.

846

There were several ideas current concerning the predetermination of such characters as sex and left-handedness. If the child, still unborn, faces the mother's abdomen, it will be right-handed. If it faces her back it will be left-handed: a fairly common characteristic among the Sinkaietk. If a child is left-handed, they say, "He built his face where his back should have been." Sex might be discovered by two or three means. At the winter dance a man inspired by his power might be able to tell a pregnant woman what the sex of her coming child would be. If a little boy became ashamed in the presence of a pregnant woman, it meant that she was going to have a girl; the shyness of a girl prognosticated a boy baby. No special preparations were made on the basis of these predictions, and there is no telling how seriously they were believed.

842 787

Twins were considered a very good thing. In the northern part of the area they had a reputation for intelligence and ability as diviners. A mother had no dreams or other indication that she was to give birth to twins, but "just before the birth her abdomen would become very hard, so she would know." Twinning was thought to run in families: one woman said that in her family twins appeared in alternate generations. Twins were said to be almost always of like sex. There was a conviction that only identical twins would survive. Twins were supposed to be dressed alike (of this we are doubtful) for should they be dressed otherwise, the one not favored would cry and die. The first born of twins was considered the elder. According to Lucy Joe there were no beliefs in the con-

845

20 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 279.

845 ...ction of twins with the weather, with salmon, or with grizzly bears.

821 844 There was believed to be a connection between parturition and the weather. When a person died the weather of his birthday was supposed to occur again. The weather at the birth was connected with the character of the mother. If a cold wind storm blew, it was said that the mother was cranky, mean, and could not get along with someone. On the other hand, warm, fine weather was interpreted as meaning the mother was kind and agreeable. Again, it was said of a child born in bad weather that its mother must have a "good behind" (buttocks or genitals?), nxEcō´ps; of one born in good weather, that its mother must have a "bad behind," nqEcō´ps.

846 About ten days after the birth (some informants say more time was necessary) the mother left the lodge. She took a sweat bath one evening, another on the next, and was then ready to return to the dwelling house. Then she cooked and all the people came to a little feast she prepared. All the old people blessed her child.

854 Newborn Sinkaietk infants were carried in cradles with the board covered by a sack, and which had neither shade bow nor tump line. They were constructed before the child was born. These were carried horizontally, or nearly so; When the child was a few months old this was changed, without ceremony, for a board with a sack attached to it, in which the baby was wrapped. This would be carried on the mother's back, or suspended from the pommel of her saddle.[21]

During the day the baby now spent its entire time strapped in the cradle. This was carried on the mother's back by a tump line which was shifted from her forehead to breast as she wearied of one position or the other. When she wished to be free of the burden, she hung the cradle from a low bough out of reach of snakes on the ground. During the day a hammock might be used for the baby This was a long piece of skin slung between two trees. It was kept swinging by some small child so that the mother could go about her work.

There were characteristic ways of rocking a cradle: on the mother's back, or lying on her extended palms while her arms were crossed under it, or lying on the thighs as the woman sat with legs extended straight before her.

At night the baby was wrapped in the same fashion, but instead of being placed in a board cradle, it was put into a sack of soft coyote skin, fur side in. This was used summer and winter, as long as the baby was still carried on the cradle board. The sack was merely a roughly rectangular piece of skin the edges of which met in front,

21 For descriptions of the several types of cradles, see Material Culture.

854 where they were laced after the baby was in place (Figure 17,e). ⅓

855 The cradle was kept in continuous use until the child could walk. After that it served when long journeys were to be made.
[856] It was said that formerly infants learned to walk only at a later age than in these days of non-cradling, so it may be presumed that cradling retarded this ability.

854 For bedding the baby on the cradle two skin wrappings were used, always placed fur side in. One, serving as an outer blanket, was either a coyote skin or two jack rabbit skins sewed together. The other was a diaper; a single jack rabbit skin, or in warm weather, thin buckskin. This diaper was spread with shredded willow bark or dried cattail fluff. (The latter was, of course, picked in the fall and was stored in large sacks.) On this the baby was placed, one edge of the diaper brought across and between the legs to prevent chafing, and the opposite edge drawn quite across its body. Some women disposed of the soiled cattail fluff by storing it in a sack until it could be conveniently thrown away (?); others burned it.

The sanitary arrangements were the same for both first and second cradles. The penis of the boy was left outside the lacings; the inside of the girl's sack was kept dry by a piece of folded buckskin, drawn up from underneath, between her legs, and left hanging outside the lacings, hanging over the edge of the board at the end and at the sides. These pieces of buckskin were cleaned with clay as often as necessary. Sometimes the boy's cradle also had a buckskin outlet, of tubular form.

186 Most of the informants denied that
304 there was any intention of flattening the
854 head among the Sinkaietk. They knew that this was done by some of their neighbors, but they laughed at them for it, calling the Nez Percé and others pEpI'liakEn, "flatheads," on this account. They in turn laughed at the Sinkaietk for failing to do so. Mary Carden, however, described the process, which she said was a method of beautifying.

304 A flat stone or other hard substance
854 was put in position on the baby's head and bound (?) down with a broad strip of skin. Then the infant was wrapped in the outer blanket and laced in the cradle. The arms were left free during the day so that it might play with the dangling strings of dentalium shells.

846 The stump of the umbilical cord was sew-
854 ed up in buckskin and, with a sack containing the heart of a fool-hen, was fastened to the cradle covering near the child's head. The fool-hen's heart made the child well behaved and docile like the bird.

⅓ [For figure see p. 51 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

The baby was unwrapped every day and bathed at first in warm, but as it grew older, in unheated water. (The heating of water sounds unaboriginal: Mary Carden stated that even tiny babies were bathed in cold water.) The wrappings were, however, rarely cleaned. Each time the infant was unwrapped it was given a beauty massage. Limbs, nose and eyelids were rubbed, the roof of the mouth was pressed with the thumb; all to the end that these features might be lengthened or otherwise beautified. The baby was also dusted with powder and its cradle filled with the dried and pounded stalks, flowers and leaves of sKsan[1]I'stEn, a sweet-smelling plant. (This had a stalk like a sunflower and small white flowers an inch and a half in diameter.) This assured the baby smelling sweetly, not only while thus perfumed, but all through life, and also made it grow healthy and strong.

When the child outgrew the cradle, it was carried to the hills, with the stump of the umbilical cord still attached, and hidden so that no one could find it, e.g., lodged between two trees.

A cradle might be used again for another child, however. A woman might borrow one which had belonged to a child of another family. When it was to be used again, the skins were cleaned with clay. A board belonging to a baby who had died had to be purified before it could be reused. It was filled with fir boughs or rose twigs which were changed every day for two weeks.

Teit's material on carriers mentions wrapping in soft furs, with the use of shredded bark for bedding. He describes drains of bark and wood, of which our informants knew nothing. The use of soft pillows and non-flattening of the head, which he reports, agree with our material.[22]

When the child was able to walk the cradle was put aside to await the next child. If a journey longer than the child was able to take was to be made, it was carried on its mother's back in a sling supported across her chest. The child sat in this with its arms around its mother's neck, and its legs about her waist. The sling, which may have been but the common tump line, was a rope of Indian hemp having a broad central part some nine inches long on which the child sat. It was possible to carry a child and a pack at the same time with this device, the child being perched on the load.

ADULT LIFE

Sinkaietk life followed a routine in which the variations were chiefly seasonal. Men hunted and fished, gambled and fought. Women gathered vegetables and small animal food, did the work about the house and made the clothes and most of the utensils. All

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22 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 270.